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783 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited, and when sacred lineage hearths (*tae ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

937 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are
● [828] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

842 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*abang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

776 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from
787 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some
[828] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

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In the late afternoon women arrive with rice baskets (baloo) in their carrying packs on display at a payoff feast.

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A husband must greet his wife's kinsmen with derogatory remarks as they deliver a dowry payment.

Maliseni the Financier protests vigorously the payment that is being made.

[p. 32 U]

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design is first traced on her forehead or cheek and is then pricked in with a thorn dipped in charcoal. The generation usually draws a number of girls and adult women, all of whom discuss animatedly which of a limited number of simple designs will be used. Often a little girl who has taken no initiative in the matter will be urged by a friend or adult to undergo the operation. Beauty is the only objective.

It is a tradition to insist that the operation does not hurt, and when asked a girl who had just had the task completed whether it was painful, older women answered before she was able to, assuring me that it was not. On one occasion some older women, by way of teasing the child's grandmother, urged a little girl of seven to let herself be tattooed. The grandmother arrived just in time to prevent the scheme from being carried out. She was very indignant that her grandchild should have been enjoined into it when she was obviously so young. In relation to a discussion of skills and craftsmanship which will come later, it should be noted that this tattooing process is often very crude and usually impermanent, so that traces of designs are rarely distinguishable on the faces of middle-aged women.

GROWING UP FOR BOYS

Whereas girls are tattooed from approximately ten to fourteen, the comparable badge of adulthood for boys, i.e., long hair, does not come until somewhat later, at ages I should estimate from sixteen to eighteen. When boys begin to let their hair grow long, they also begin borrowing or acquiring male accouterments. These are dwelt upon in loving detail in many myths and consist of a sword, a front shield, a back shield, a parrying shield, a bow, a wide belt of woven rattan that serves as a quiver, an areca basket with belts, and the tubular, areca-bark hair cylinder with the accompanying combs and head plumes. Naturally, a young man rarely succeeds in borrowing or acquiring all these articles at first, but he gets as many as he can and struts about in them, often followed by the half-admiring, half-derisive comments of older women and girls. There is a special expression for the type of laughter that women direct toward a young man, which I can translate only by our word *hoot*. Its character is as unmistakable as the laughter that accompanies the telling of smutty jokes in our culture. A young man of about twenty himself described in the following words this attitude and the associated courting interests of both boys and girls.

"When a lot of women get together to work in the fields or to fetch water, they talk and talk. When you hear them hoot, that means they are talking about a man. Maybe one girl says she likes a certain man and intends to sleep with him

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stakes. With that in hand he could begin to accumulate a new bride-price, by lending it at interest to Mallomi. Thereby he would be one step nearer to buying the girl on whom his heart meanwhile had become set. These financial transactions must have been highly frustrating to Amatem and the girl whom he wished to marry. They also generated, or were the means of expressing, hostility between a father and son, and they laid the rejected girl open to a good deal of dry teasing from young men about her desirability and the reasons for her marriage to an older man.

Senbike's experiences in trying to break into financial life were perhaps even more frustrating and discouraging than those of Amatem. When he was about fourteen or fifteen, he had spent a season working hard in his and his parents' gardens. After a good maize harvest had been tied into bundles and stored in the loft, his parents, partly to reward him and partly to start him on his financial career, gave him a piglet. Senbike devoted himself to its care. He kept it penned and gathered food to fatten it rapidly. When it was worth a five-dollar stake, instead of allowing Senbike to distribute it as a feast for a return payment in stakes, his father confiscated it for one of his own death feasts, saying it was Senbike's duty to contribute to their family ceremonies.

Senbike was furious but helpless. He swore he would never again raise pigs, a vow that he kept stubbornly for years. Meanwhile his father died, but there was an older brother who had to buy a wife first. When I knew Senbike he was twenty-six, still unmarried, and an outsider on that score as all boys in Atimelang. For a young man of his age to be unmarried is considered even more of a social disability than for a debutante who has been out ten years. Luckily Senbike was a good hunter and the salary he received from me permitted him to buy a few stakes from a coastal man who was pressed for tax money and to acquire a couple of pigs. The special inducement for launching once more on a financial career was a girl from Kariata with whom he had fallen in love. He contributed his pigs as dowry payments on some female kin and expected the higher bride-price in return. However, he lost his stakes at interest to Mallomi, the same financier who figured in the preceding anecdotes and one notoriously skilled in financial chicanery.

To add to Senbike's difficulties his future brothers-in-law were planning a large death feast for their father. They counted on their only sister's bride-price as one of the chief sources of income for the event. Night after night when Senbike went to see the girl, her kin lectured him for his slowness in paying his bride-price and threatened to sell their sister to another man. They even demanded that he pay the whole

527 foolish at one time, since his elder brother had recently indulged in that
529 bit of ostentatious financing. So Senlaka said, "They made me ashamed. It is not as though I were not an orphan. Now it has been three weeks since I have been to their house." In the meantime Senlaka had tried to
[584] placate his future affinal kin by furnishing at different times two pigs as free gifts (panghe).

426 During these negotiations Senlaka was trying his best to force Mali-
(426) kami to make the promised repayment on the moko he had lent him and Malikami was putting him off with promises. Malikami said that he had to wait until a man in a distant village gave a death feast, at which time he would receive payment on an outstanding obligation. Feasts are always held much later than the promised date, so only after much delay did Senlaka finally think he was to get the promised moko. When Malikami returned, however, he "spoke sweetly" to Senlaka, saying that unfortunately another creditor had insisted upon being paid but that if Senlaka could give him an additional moko, he, Malikami, could repay both of them with an even higher valued moko that he expected to receive soon. Senlaka was furious. In telling me the whole story he said, "Here older men just try to cheat the young ones. It is a lot of trouble to get married here. Countries where there are no gongs and mokos and where you don't have to buy a wife are better."

In the interim another man heard of Senlaka's difficulties and said that if Senlaka would litigate for the return of his original moko—which would mean abandoning the hope of interest—a better deal could be arranged. When Senlaka broached the matter to Malikami, the latter tried to dissuade Senlaka on the plea that such a procedure would shame him. Senlaka, however, stood firm and finally Malikami returned a moko worth the original loan. After four months Senlaka was ready to start all over again with the help of another and, hopefully, more trustworthy older man.

584 In discussing the relationships involved, Senlaka admitted that the girl's two older brothers were inclined to press him less hard than her youngest brother and her mother. When I questioned him about the girl's attitude, his first answer was the traditional one, namely, that she stayed out of the family bickerings. Finally he admitted that she had told her brothers that if she could not marry Senlaka she would ask the kapitan for a tax bill. This was a way of saying that she would ask to have masculine status, that she would marry no one, and that her brothers would receive no bride-price on her at all. In view of the fact that theoretically, and often actually, a woman caught in such conflicts is expected to support the financial interests of her kinsmen as opposed

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[193] this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.
576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a consid-
erable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving
a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
● [427] unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token"
(*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The
next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the
dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.
154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers.
Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between
shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atime-
langers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say
about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous
emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized
police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation,
shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply
the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
[58] as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame pro-
duces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be
diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive
quality.
154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
155 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear
that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing
of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the
world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
536 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are
thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been
offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of dan-
ger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into
wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expres-
sing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains.
The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

571 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association
with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear
observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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Oh, Village Guardian, track down those who have been our guests.*

Now in this drowsy fourth quarter of the night
We call upon you; we ask your help
That you may persistently track our many debtors.

Verse 11. A host, addressing the Guardian Spirit.

Listen, Guardian Spirit,
Pursue new wealth and old wealth.
From the market or from the Kamang area
Show it the way here.
Hook it up with your horn.
Let it slide in like flowing water.

SOME FINANCIAL PRESSURES

If compensatory skills are minimal and esthetic outlets seem only to reinforce the premium set on financial success, it may be of some interest to turn once more to some of the institutional details involved in financial manipulations. This will give us an impression of the sort of difficulty involving chicanery and frustrations with which the less successful are incapable of coping and before which they surrender to a greater or lesser degree. In the section on marriage the obstacles of some young men in launching into the system were described. Difficult as a youth's position may sometimes be, it is only a portion of the sum of difficulties he may encounter as a man and of the distrusts and suspicions the system, as a system, is calculated to engender.

It must be evident by now that wealth consists essentially of a series of outstanding credits, not of accumulated property. But no debt is ever paid by one individual to another without a preliminary dunning, except in the case of general payoff feasts. However, to give a feast a man must work at dunning for months ahead of time to be assured of enough tangible wealth from his debtors to provide a satisfactory payoff for his creditors who crowd to the feast. The game played at such ceremonial payoffs is to force as much as possible out of the host, while he in turn has been trying to force as much as possible from his debtors. He uses a variety of magic wealth-bringing devices that range from building a new shed for his wealth-bringing spirits and placating them with food, to beating gongs and mokos morning and evening in order to draw in more gongs and mokos. The strain of debt collecting is nicely illustrated by the words used, which mean to draw (*filia*) and to tug (*bagik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as horse pairs.

* Who have accepted gifts, that they may repay them.

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426 (*bafik*), terms also applied to heavy loads, such as house posts. The
765 difficulty of calling in reserves is further illustrated by the uncertainty surrounding the date set for a feast. The case of the tumukun's payoff death feast will show just how harassing such a situation can be.

The tumukun must have been pondering the event of a death feast for some weeks, but the first indication I had of his plans for it was on March 23, when a group of women gathered to hull rice. The next day
[787] he divined to discover the proper date, and the result of this divination set April 4 as the day of the feast. When April 4 arrived it was obvious that no feast was under way. I asked what had happened and was told there had been a two-day delay in order to give guests time to arrive. On April 14 the tumukun again divined for a propitious date, and the day was set for April 26. That night and the next day he had satellites
[211 202] deliver thirty-nine invitations in the form of "memo tallies" to inform his debtors that gongs and mokos were to begin arriving as early as April 22. These memo tallies are strips of coconut leaves in one end of which a flat knot is tied; the other end is slit as many times as there are days before the feast. The guest is supposed to tear off one tab a day.

[789] Meanwhile the tumukun had been making gong- and moko-bringing magic every evening and morning. Since all these activities were quite open, no one could have been ignorant of his plans. April 26 came and went, however, but no guests arrived. The tumukun was very much ashamed and, characteristically, very angry. He complained to me of the situation when I was indiscreet enough to inquire about the cause of the delay, and he blusteringly threatened to carry litigations against his debtors to the radjah himself. He began once more a round of visits to his debtors scattered through about ten villages to berate them for their recalcitrance. I asked a neutral person if people were angry with the tumukun and was told that they were not, that such delays were customary.

On July 13 the tumukun again began morning and evening to beat gongs and mokos in order to draw in his wealth. A few dowry payments arrived during the last days of July. On July 28 he went to fetch the soul of his father-in-law, in whose honor the death feast was to be.
[769] The father-in-law had been buried in the old Alurkowati village site twenty years before, and his soul had to be brought to the dance place in Atimelang, where his feast was to be given. The tumukun took this opportunity to berate his father-in-law's soul for its inactivity in spur-
[715] ring debtors to make payments. The souls of those who are to be hon-

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ored are supposed to precede the human creditors and "soften people's hearts." For the next few days the tumukun's kinsmen and debtors continued making payments and by August 4 the feast was finally given, four months after the original date set for it.

Even then not an adequate number of debtors appeared, so that on August 4 there was only the slaughtering of pigs and the division of food. On August 7 the actual gongs and mokos were distributed. The wealth array was one of the most elaborate I saw during my eighteen months, but I was assured that it was by no means the largest possible. There were fifteen mokos and eight broken gongs, representing about one hundred dollars, displayed on the dance place. This did not include pigs or rice. Practically the whole day was taken up with the distribution, although the actual passing out of payments did not begin until about four-thirty. At five-forty the first creditor, a satellite kin and village-mate of the tumukun, beat the moko he had received and left the dance place as a sign of satisfaction with the payment made. Some of the other creditors, however, were overtly and articulately dissatisfied with their payments, and some of the more implacable ones refused to accept them and leave until noon the next day. Meanwhile, in several instances, they had succeeded in forcing higher payments. Several times the tumukun and his guests were in acute rages over the negotiations. The tumukun finally managed to convince his guests that he had absolutely no currency of any sort left. Actually he had taken the precaution of hiding two mokos in a field house occupied by a kin so that his creditors would not discover them and insist on having them.

In attempting to visualize the general atmosphere of grasping hard dealing that runs riot on such occasions, one must picture a whole group of people who are present simply because they are creditors of the tumukun's creditors. They watch what is being distributed, and the minute one of their creditors is paid a gong or moko, they lay claim to it as payment for an outstanding debt. The result is that, in addition to the quarrels centering on the tumukun's debt liquidations, there is also a series of minor quarrels being waged on the side.

A condensed account of this sort can scarcely begin to indicate the anger, humiliations, and frustrations the tumukun had to endure for the prestige the feast brought him. It is not surprising that many men delay payoff feasts indefinitely and must often be forced into them. The most common pressure that forces a reluctant financier into a ceremonial payoff is illness, his own or that of some family member. Divination reveals that a dead kinsman is angry at delay or neglect and that

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755 his soul is causing the sickness. A small promissory sacrifice to the an-
426 gered ghost removes the immediate symptoms. Then the long-drawn
765 preliminaries leading to a feast are set in motion.

621 A less frequent form of coercing a man into ceremonial expenses is
426 beginning an undertaking in which he is then forced to join. In connec-
765 tion with the death feast given by the tumukun there was an example of such an involvement. The tumukun was giving a feast for his father-in-law. This brought in, although very reluctantly, the maternal uncle of the tumukun's wife and her sister. This uncle was held equally responsible by his female kin for the ceremony in view of the fact that there were no nearer male kin of the deceased.

Another case of forced participation happened in connection with the erection of a new carving of the village guardian spirit for Dikimpe. The person primarily responsible for taking the initiative and bearing the brunt of the expenses was Fantan the Interpreter, who had inherited this duty from his father. In Dikimpe the village guardian spirit carving had not been renewed for several years, nor had the spirit been fed. Thomas, who belonged to one of the Dikimpe lineages and was responsible only to a minor degree for the expenses, ordered a carving made and then left the major part of the activities for Fantan to carry through. It was interesting in this instance that Fantan seemed to bear no resentment.

A still rarer form of forcing a man into feast activities is through public shaming. A quarrel that resulted in a feast five months later is worth giving in detail.

578 Maugata, a young man of about eighteen, had done a few days'
593 work on the coast and earned some money which he invested in a crude kerosene flare and a bottle of oil. There were only about half a dozen such lamps in the village, and their owners were very proud of them. On Maugata's return from the coast his father, who was ill, insisted on burning the lamp all night. The next night Djetmani, a neighbor, borrowed the lamp from Maugata's father so that he might have more than just firelight by which to tie into bundles his newly harvested corn. On the third night, Maugata wanted to carry his lamp to an all-night dance, doubtless with the hope of splurging a bit. He found the bottle empty of oil and the lamp dry. He was furious and berated his father until his father, who was both ineffectual and ill, burst into tears. Maugata's mother, who is Tilapada of the autobiographies, turned on her son and scolded him harshly for his behavior.

578 Maugata left the house in a rage and found Djetmani outside. The two began quarreling. Djetmani threatened to break the lamp. Maugata

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retorted that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata, who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel. The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters. When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication, was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had been at fault — not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now."

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined, and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry, was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

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426 765 [571] This he was able to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose satellite he was.

626 [602] Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin. This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the

426 627 [602 571] sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through successfully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required. There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

426 571 627 425 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of partnership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure. Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone

425 571 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners, the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

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way of using wealth to insure support and to enlarge or utilize satellite and kinship loyalties to the full. This same device of farming out pigs prevents every casual passer-by from knowing precisely the animal wealth of any given person. Rarely are more than two pigs kept penned beneath any one house. Maliseni, who was reputed to have an interest in as many as twenty pigs, had only three pigs penned in his dance place complex, where he lived with his three wives, his older brother, and his brother's wife. Probably Maliseni's financial activities and unreliability account in part for his keeping only three pigs penned in the vicinity of his house.

Enough details have been given to indicate the relationship between finance and status and also the fact that all men are to a certain extent forced into wealth-status manipulations that are precarious and aggravating. The lack of standardized currencies, the contest devices and the chicanery associated with wealth, the difficulties and delays attendant upon feasts, the competitive system in which, by definition, only a fraction of the male population can be successful, all contribute to the frustrations and irritations of gaining prestige. In addition, no one can relax his efforts once the goal has been reached. There are too many socially recognized pressures to permit him to withdraw and still maintain his status rating.

A nice example of the pressures and their inescapability is contained in a conversation between Fantan the Interpreter and Malelaka. Fantan, who was hard pressed at the moment, began fantasying, saying, "I should like to raise all my own pigs, and when I needed a gong or moko, I'd sell a pig for it. For my feasts I would use all my own pigs and rice. That is just what I think. It is not really true."

Malelaka, who was some twenty years older than Fantan, answered, "That is what your maternal kinsman Lanmani did. People all envied him, although they were angry with him sometimes. He raised his own pigs and if he wanted a gong or a moko he sold a pig to get it. The other pigs he used for his own feasts. If others came and shot his pig for a feast, he did not let them carry it off (i.e., form a debt with him). He kept it himself. If people came bringing a gong or a moko, he would let them have a pig; but if they just promised to pay, he would say, 'I like meat too. I need this pig for a feast.' After a time people did not ask him for a pig unless they had gongs or mokos; they did not try to shoot his pigs any more. If his affinal kin gave him a pig for a dowry payment, he would use it right away, but he would immediately put another pig in his pen to replace it. When it was big, he would take it to his lineal kin and say, 'If you have a gong or moko, give it to

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556 my affinal kin and I shall give you this pig.' So his lineal kin would pay
426 his bride-price for him."

183 In discussing this conversation later, Fantan remarked, "Yes, a man here says he is rich, but all he does is to go around and cheat people. He pulls in their gongs and mokos and promises to pay for them when other debts of his are settled, but he only deceives us. People thought my kinsman Lanmani was poor because he did not have a lot of outstanding debts."

556 782 Supporting this type of personal expression of dissatisfaction and difficulty with financial affairs is another more formalized expression. Any large accumulation of gongs and mokos, such as the one described for the tumukun's feast, is considered dangerous. Young children are chased away from it, and adults must be protected by throwing away one of the pieces of smaller value to the wealth-bringing spirits. The piece is tossed by the owner into the brush, where boys and young men fight for it. This is another permitted opportunity for aggression in relation to wealth. Should this precaution or some similar magical one [753] be omitted, the owner of the wealth will fall sick and die within a day.

The danger associated with excessive wealth is present also when a rice crop is unusually large, when a carabao is slaughtered, or when many wild pigs have been shot on the communal hunt at the end of the dry season. Again, illness can be avoided only by throwing away a small [769] part as a sacrifice, the essence of which goes to personal or ancestral spirits who may be offended, and the substance of which is fought over by the younger and less dignified males.

CONCLUSIONS

556 156 Obviously from the foregoing, status depends primarily on wealth, but neither of these is any more secure or confidence-inspiring for the individual than were his human relationships in childhood. Status and finance on the institutional side reflect and reinforce the uncertainties involved in trusting other people; yet certain aspects of the culture reveal the need for their good will. Just as there are many positive factors in child training, so also on the institutional side there are a variety of constructive aspects within the total framework. There are the many 152 recognized avenues for expressing and draining off the very hostilities 556 engendered by the culture that tend both expressively and repressively to maintain social cohesiveness. There is always the hope and the search for desired goals, whether the goal be the nurturing mother-provider or the status-wealth hyphenation. There are always devices for forging through to such goals if one is a sufficiently self-contained and ruthless

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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Melanesians the Atimelangers cannot be considered ghost-ridden. The interesting point is that these potentially malignant dead are always one's most immediate kin. People have two souls. At death one goes to a village below if the death has not been violent. If it has been, the soul goes above (*adiy bong*), and a spirit-bird ceremony must be given for it. The second soul is the one that loiters about the village boundary and against which precautions are taken at the time of burial.

It is at this time that the soul is particularly dangerous because the deceased wishes company. To placate it in this early and more potent phase of malignancy and to relegate it to the village boundary there are special feasts, the Hevelaberka held on the fourth day after death and the Hevelakang on the ninth day after death. During these nine days a few minor restrictions are observed by the family, including taboos on salt, bathing, and sexual intercourse. During that time there may be also one or two all-night gong-playing memorials (*sinewai*), including the feeding of the guests who attend. It is during these nine days that there occurs all the ostentatious use of pigs and the incurrence of debts, which must be repaid in subsequent years, or even generations, in a series of feasts called Rolik, Baleti, and Tila (also called Ato in its final phase). The first two of these feasts are named, significantly enough, after two ways of preparing rice; the first refers to rice rolls, the second to small woven containers in which raw rice is boiled.

The third feast can really be broken down into a number of ceremonies. To the whole series I have given the name of the first ceremony, (*Tila*), which means *string* and refers to the purchase of either a sheep or a carabao for the final and supreme death feast after which the soul of the dead is banished from the village boundary and thus from interference in human affairs. The motivations for giving payoff feasts have already been discussed in the chapter on adults and institutions. The pressure of creditors, prestige, and, perhaps most often, illness of descendants lead to these final ceremonies. The dead become impatient and annoyed at the lack of postmortem prestige and manifest their displeasure by making trouble for the living.

As soon as an illness is diagnosed as the manifestation of a displeased soul, a small quantity of rice is offered it in a bamboo container raised on a pole. From here on, plans for a payoff feast should get under way; but frequently long delays occur, and it is hoped that meanwhile the small original offering will stave off the soul. In addition, the dead may withhold good crops if the smaller garden feasts are not made in the fields they have worked or if they are not named and fed at a series of new-corn rituals owned by various lineages. All this placation of the dead

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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has a strong awareness of the power of other people's envy. Hence the giving of a feast, by satisfying their oral appetites, diminishes the envy. It is this remedy which tells us the origin of the whole insecurity feeling. The remedy serves as an antidote to the envy of others, which the wealthy person fears. This probably is also the source of the necessity for evening things up—a compulsive trait probably derived from the necessity of sharing with hungry siblings. In actual practice the whole prestige economy in Alor is one in which the currencies are so distributed that continual "squeeze" can be applied through financial obligations.

The uses of this financial system are largely to channelize the enormous amount of intrasocial hostility, and it takes much of the brunt off all the other methods. The fear of exercising overt aggression in the form of striking, killing, or even using magic is likewise traceable to the faulty ego development in childhood. It is an error to regard aggression purely as a form of reaction to frustration. In order to react to frustration with aggression a high degree of effective organization is necessary. In the Alorese child this organization fails to take place. It is to be remembered that the tantrum is the expression par excellence of the childhood frustration, and this is characterized chiefly by its lack of organization. It is, so to speak, a spinal discharge and not one directed by the higher centers. As was noted before in the discussion of the relations of men toward women, the inability to be aggressive toward an object that injures you must lead eventually not only to a fear of the object but also to an inner feeling of paralysis. The control over aggression is certainly not due to any superego interference. It is due purely to an ego defect; they do not know how to organize their aggression. In other words, the fact that overt aggression so rarely appears in this society is merely a late consequence of a situation that began in childhood and which there showed itself in the hopeless futility of getting any response by this method. Even verbal aggressions, which are given limited scope, are by no means employed by everyone. Unrestrained aggression becomes a form of expression only in the insane and in some of the jealous quarrels among women.

RELIGION AND PERSONALITY

What is distinctive about Alorese ideas and techniques for dealing with the supernatural is their negative features. There is no elaboration of either a supreme being or of a culture hero in their mythology.

In their practical religion there is the general framework of a family cult, which, however, lacks precision. The dead are not to be placated

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159 next the older men called us all again to go to Muruwating, where the dead man had kin. I said, "Yesterday I fell. Today I had better stay and beat gongs. You can go." I and my friends stayed home; the older men went to Muruwating, where they were given a goat. They were going to save the goat for four days for the Hevelakang feast, but the goat went crazy and butted me in the stomach. Therefore the older people decided to kill it the next day for the Hevelaberka feast. They were afraid it might kill a child. For the Hevelakang they used only a small pig. Father went to Metingfui with a large gong as a dowry, and they gave him a big pig as a bride-price. Four men carried it back. They saved the pig for the Rolik feast three months later. Father gave a big feast at that time; thirty gongs and mokos came in.

In two months Tilapada, my maternal grandmother, died. People came to call mother and told her that her mother had defecated in her loincloth and didn't drink any more. So mother went. Her mother wouldn't swallow food. She died. They carried her to Dikimpe. Her other children [stepchildren], Manifani, Langmani, and Lakamsu, said she had to be buried with the Senhieta lineage of her husband. But father said, "She can be buried with either the Senhieta or with her own lineage, the Maughieta, either above or below the village." Then Tilapada came back to life and said, "No, I must return to my fathers; bury me with the Maughieta. I can also be buried with Senhieta, but my Senhieta children have bad voices and talk roughly. Better bury me with the Maughieta." So they carried her to her father's house. That night Manifani spoke to her, "Mother, it is now the hungry season. Think of me if I go to ask people for food for your feasts. People won't give it to me." [He was asking his mother to send her soul with him to give him luck in raising the necessary death feast provisions.] But she didn't speak to him. She just grunted. Then father talked to her, "Mother, at present there is neither corn, nor beans, nor rice. I don't have gongs or mokos either. Think of me." So she said, "Oh, your gongs and mokos are many. You will have no trouble. You will also be given food. Now the people of Sehiek [village of the dead] want me to go. But you will have no trouble." Then she died. Father went to get food, gongs, and mokos. He had to speak once only and people gave him what he asked for. But Manifani and his brothers got nothing. They didn't make a feast for their mother. Only father did.

[122 126 02] At the time we were making Tilapada's feasts, father told me to go ask our various kin for pigs, and if they didn't give them, just to shoot the pigs in their pen; he would pay for them later on. I saw that Atska-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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X 159 it. There were three baskets, one for me, one for Maliemai, and one for Lonmobi. I pounded mine and Maliemai's and was going to start Lonmobi's when Djetmani went up into the house and said [so that she heard it], "Tell her to go home. I don't want her here." So I went to Tilaleti's house, took all I had there—my pots, baskets, sleeping mat, and rice—and went to Kawaimani's to stay.

At that time Kawaimani's husband got a pig, and she told me to take it to the chief of Dikimpe, who was giving a Baleti feast for his wife's kin. [This occurred quite recently.] So I took it to Kolmau [the wife
X 159 of the chief of Dikimpe]. When I came home in the evening, Cornelius
426 [her paternal parallel cousin] had come and taken the shirt he had left
578 with me in pawn for seven cents I had given him. At bedtime I picked up the basket in which I kept the shirt and felt that it was light. I looked in and it was empty. So I was angry with Kawaimani. She had said nothing to me about it. I said, "Perhaps you gave him the shirt? Did he give you the money for it?" She said, "I thought he had paid you the money and that was why he came for the shirt." I said he
X 159 hadn't paid me. I said, "Perhaps you gave it to him? Why didn't you
578 ask him for the money?" Kawaimani said, "Perhaps he gave you the money and you don't want to admit it?" Then I swore an oath, "If I have received the money, let us take an oath. If I got the money, may my stomach stone grow big and the string long. [This seemed to indicate a swollen abdomen.] If not, may this happen to you." At this time Tilamau [next-door neighbor and a distant kinswoman whom Lomani called mother] called and said, "You had better come stay with me. You two are sisters and must not fight all the time. Come make your pigpen under my house." So I went to stay with Tilamau.

X 159 [She reverted to the earlier situation.] When I was leaving Tilaleti's house, I passed by Kolangkalieta's house and saw the chief of Atimelang sitting on the verandah. I told him what had happened and what Djetmani had said. So the chief ordered Djetmani to come to him, but Djetmani said he didn't want to. He said I could go home. He said he wouldn't count the free gifts [*punghe*] he had given for me, and if I wanted to marry anyone else, it was all right with him [i.e., he was renouncing all financial interests, which were not very large]. Then in three days Falepangmau's husband, Alurkofani of Kafakberka, litigated to divorce his wife [accusing her of unfaithfulness]. The chief and the tumukun asked her with whom she had an agreement, and she named Djetmani. So Djetmani was called and he paid a Rula Fehawa moko to Alurkofani. After that he was married to Falepangmau. When I heard

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

a few people who ignore the theory and plant extra corn fields or even occasional rice fields during "rat years." Yet the social fiction seems almost a rationalization of basic food attitudes in the individual. It appears to be almost an expression of infantile deprivation and helplessness. However, it is only with the utmost caution that I would suggest in any particular case that individual psychology is the direct source of an institutionalized form.

Theft and fear of theft are ramified phenomena whose implications extend beyond their application to food, but the most common type of theft is from gardens. This may be explained on two bases: one is the early theft habits of foraging play groups of boys; the other is that food is one of the few types of property which cannot be absolutely identified and which can be used without much fear of detection. For these reasons, perhaps, one sees the use of curses against theft erected most frequently in fields. These curses, made by specialists, are bamboo poles into whose cleft top are inserted the necessary combinations of magical objects. They are erected in fields where theft has occurred or where the owner fears such an occurrence. Once there, they are supposed to work automatically. A thief would develop leprosy or some other fatal or debilitating illness, and even the owner should call the specialist to remove the signs before harvesting the field. Although these curses are widely used, they seem actually to engender very little fear among most people. Certainly they in no way effectively stop pilfering. Many people are more realistic in the face of depredations and keep armed guard on their fields. A thief caught in the act runs the risk not only of having to pay a fine but also of being shot.

Another important food attitude is shown by the limited range of generosity in distributing it. An occasional guest is fed, but soon enough anyone who is obviously sponging is no longer asked to eat. In case a family runs short of corn or rice it has to buy or borrow from those who may have a surplus. But if food is borrowed, it is at rates of interest running as high as one hundred percent. This holds even between brothers. Thus Panaeni wanted a hundred-ear corn bundle. He got it from his brother but had to repay it at harvest time with two corn bundles of the same size. Even feasts, which at first blush appear to be generous food distributions, are far from lavish in actuality. Each female guest brings to the feast a contribution of food. Everything brought by guests is pooled with the hosts' contributions and then redistributed so that women may carry back home but little more than they brought in the first place. Of course they do receive meat in addition, but most often the meat consists of only three or four cubes of boiled pork about two inches square. However, the quantities displayed are considerable and the hosts derive satisfaction therefrom.

I have been concerned with describing a series of childhood experiences and a series of institutionalized adult food attitudes. The experiences of individual children with respect to hunger gratifications and disciplines vary greatly; it is to be expected, therefore, that in adults these cultural attitudes toward food will vary in "the depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." Mangua began his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, whereas Tilapula, who was the same age and of the same village, began the story of her childhood with quarrels between herself and other children.

3: DuBois OF5 Alor
291, 342, 426, 436, 476, 482, 584

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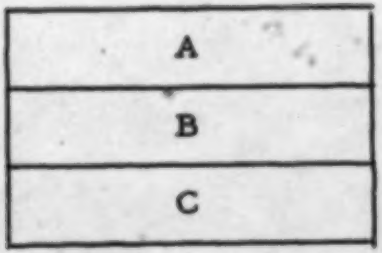

3:DuBois B-5 (1888-1939)1940 OF6 Also OF5

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[p. 482 A]

A-Dobu 3-6 (1929-1930)1941 OPS Alor OPS

436 goods. For the past half century mokos have no longer been imported, and the supply of currency is far less than the transactions of some seventy thousand inhabitants require. I was not able to make an actual estimate of the number of gongs, mokos and pigs on the island, but a government census some twenty years ago set the number of mokos at twenty thousand. This is undoubtedly an underestimation and it does not of course include gongs and pigs, but it does indicate that there is not a superabundance of currency. If there is a concept of profit and if there
●426 is not an inexhaustible supply of currency, obviously one must resort to credit, and this is precisely what the Alorese have done. Like ourselves they consider credits as assets, so when a man is dying his last will consists of recounting to his heirs all his outstanding debts.

There are, however, certain marked differences between their system and ours. First, credit cannot be pyramided and, second, the profit system rests primarily on good will and not on law. In fact, there is no institutionalized
[426] law in Alor; there is only custom. The result of this is that hostilities are held in check because a man fears to alienate a person who may some
[542] day be the object of a profitable loan. Incidentally, this permits women, who are not principals in the financial game, to be much more outspoken than men. In addition to a system of profit which rests on good will, custom requires that one should never pay debts until they have been repeatedly and persistently demanded by the creditor. This places the Alorese financier in the irritating position of having to dun constantly for payments, tactfully yet forcefully enough to get paid with the promised profit. If he fails to be persistent enough, he will not be paid. If he fails to be tactful enough, there will be a quarrel, the upshot of which will be at best a return of the property borrowed, without the addition of interest. In other words, in Alor as elsewhere the profit system can break down but it breaks down into simple reciprocity.

536 On the other hand, wealth can also be used as an expression of rivalry. An insult may precipitate two rival financiers into an orgy of pig slaughtering until they and even their remotest kin have emptied their pens. Finally a halt is called and the pigs are reckoned. The man who has slaughtered most is entitled to a formalized ghost which begins: "*Sapaloki!* The rooster's tail droops!" He then adds such insults and elaborations as the occasion and opponent furnish. However, the Alorese are a realistic and hard-headed lot and rarely allow themselves the luxury of such wasteful displays.

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